1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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512 down his axe and turns to his string bag hanging on a stump
241 for refreshment of betel-nut and a breather.

After the felling of timber there is the burning of it, which is hot work with a vengeance, for the hottest day is regarded as the best opportunity for making a clean sweep of the litter which clearing has left behind it. In none of his gardening operations, however, does the Orokaiva display unnecessary haste. He moves hither and thither, gathering armfuls for the blaze, and gives it a desultory poke or raking with his long stick. Meanwhile, the atmosphere is visibly dancing with the heat, and broad leaves are caught and floated upwards by the ascending currents of air.

512 Maybe the work on hand is that of fencing. One or two
417 men are driving the stakes and laying the rails that constitute the primitive fence. Theirs is the skilled work—if so it may be called—while it is for the women folk to maintain the supply of materials. Among these unskilled labourers the unmarried daughters, strapping young women who have discarded their bark-cloth skirts for greater freedom, move through the garden as naked as Eve through Paradise, supposing the mother of mankind to have worn at least an armlet or two or a flower in her hair for ornament. The children—particularly the little girls, who show an earlier disposition for work than do their brothers—bear their small and irresponsible share. The baby, meanwhile, hanging in a knitted string bag from some convenient tree-[854] branch, sleeps undisturbed.

512 The housewife has probably pulled some taro and
482 gathered some of the edible leaves with which it is to be seasoned; and now when the morning's work is over she will stow these into her string bag, which has incredible powers of distension, squat beside it to arrange upon the crown of her head the band which serves as handle, and so rise to her feet to plod contentedly homeward. The baby [854] hangs, still sound asleep, in a second bag upon the woman's stooping back, and her husband, shouldering his spear and digging-stick again, leads the way.

512 So in their own time most of the families will have returned by noon to the village. There may be something to

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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512 eat, made ready by some woman who has been at home during the forenoon, but, whether or no, the toilers will probably retire into their houses for the siesta.

512 513 If the day be warm there will be drowsiness in the village atmosphere and almost universal somnolence among its inhabitants for an hour or two after midday.

The Evening's Recreation

512 252 The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock. The women will soon begin peeling the taro, each seated on the ground before her own house. The diurnal grand repast is in preparation, and what with the peeling of vegetables and the cooking of them a housewife has perhaps an hour and a half of final work to do. Not that this is hard or unpleasant, but rather of a sociable nature, for little groups gather round the pot in which the taro is slowly seething under a covering of leaves. The men have risen from their rest and may foregather to chew betel or will sit before their respective houses renewing some sedentary task of yesterday—for such tasks may drag on unconscionably. Often a man is content with the society of his immediate [854] family, playing fondly with his younger children and carrying an infant in his arms.

512 301 302 883 Women and girls will go for water, and youths perhaps for firewood. Young bloods may appear, with a dash of paint on their cheeks and an ornament of boar's tusk or shell on their breasts. Their hair is glossy and greasy and their fine young figures set off with a sheen of coco-nut oil. In the most indirect manner and with a somewhat studied nonchalance they are, if the truth be known, bent on courtship, desiring principally to show off their masculine charms in those quarters where it suits them.

512 526 As the cool of the evening approaches the village grows more animated. If one game or another happens to be in vogue, youths of all ages will be boisterously engaged in it. The favourite games of the Orokaiva have something of war or chase about them. A number of players, with darts poised for throwing, stand in a kind of extended order while one boy bowls a disk-shaped section of banana stem along

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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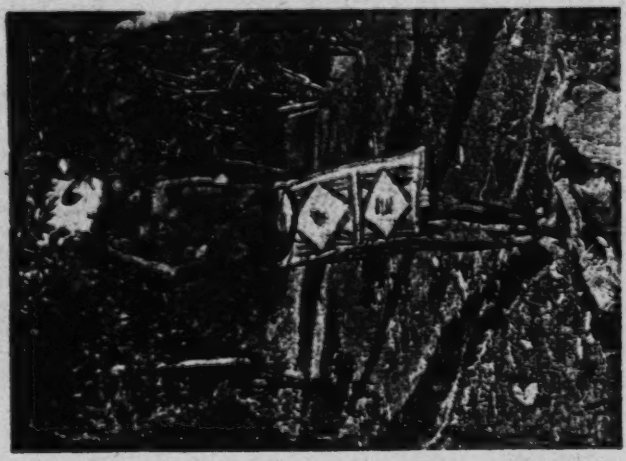

(b) Woman and child of Wasida

PLATE IV

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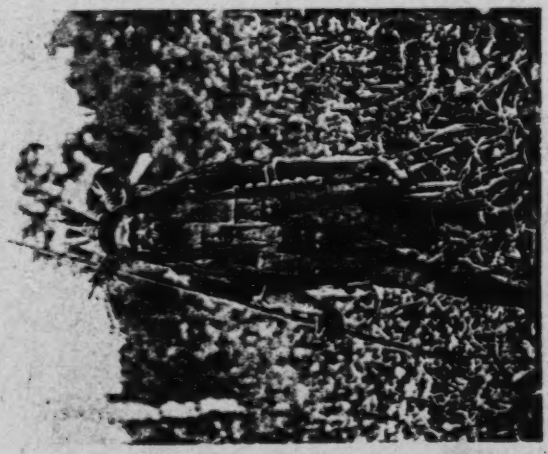

(a) A man of the River Gira

[facing p. 26]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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a neglector of gardens, to drive him away not only from your garden but from his own. The process is called *batetekari*, 'throwing away the taro', and the word is used not only in the literal sense but for other kinds of sorcery.

8. *Garden Labour*

The Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same—*pure*.[1] It has been frequently pointed out that the garden provides the mainstay of the native's life, and requires the greatest share of what hard work he has to do. A rough compilation made in an Aiga village showed that 48 per cent. of a man's work, 43 per cent. of a woman's, were in the garden. But in this compilation the term 'work' was allowed a very wide connotation, and covered a good deal of what the native would himself hardly call by that name. A stricter definition would have made the proportion much higher.

Part of the work is in the nature of routine—the weeding, the replanting of small batches as the taro is used, the felling of a little extra bush, and so on; part is initial work—the felling of a large area and the planting out of all available *bere*, and the construction of the fence. The larger share of the routine falls to the women; the hardest of the initial work to the men. The rough percentages given above do not indicate of course that women do less work in the gardens than men do. Rather the contrary is the case: the wife's working hours are longer both in the village and out of it.

In native horticulture, as we might expect, the immediate family—a man, his wife or wives, and their children—is a self-sufficing unit. When there are two wives it will be usual for them to work on separate plots of the husband's garden. Girls accompany their mothers to work, from the time when they are carried, as small somnolent balls only visible through the meshes of a string bag, until they are buxom damsels who expect to see admirers peeping at them from the bush. Boys may

[1] Aiga, *pure*; Binandele, *bure*.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

867 much as the education of the young is a conscious activity of adults, the internalization of norms and ideal patterns involves the manipulation of sanctions. What is sanctioned in childhood is the kind of behaviour required in adult life, plus a range of permitted behaviour, tolerated in youth, which diminishes as the individual grows older. So, secondly, we should be able to find within the field of education *a model of the kind of sanctions which circumscribe adult behaviour. I.e.*, if shame is a dominant sanction in adult life, it would not be surprising to find parents and other educators shaming the recalcitrant child and, at an earlier stage, ensuring that the individual will become sensitive to shame.

Thirdly, it is possible to view education as *authority in action*. It is important to know who educates, and what kinds of authority are exercised during the educative process. In a relatively stable society, we should expect some continuity between these kinds of authority and the kinds of authority used in the workaday and political activities of adults.

858 There are five stages in the Orokaiva life cycle. The last two—adult person (*embo*, or female *pamone*) and aged adult (*embo evovo* or *pamone evovo*) need not 882 concern us here. It is necessary, however, to consider the first three: the baby 888 (*meni orosati*), the little child (*meni isapa*) and the big boy or girl (*meni dombo*), in some detail, and then to examine the initiation ceremony which marks the transition from *meni dombo* to adult *embo* or *pamone*.

Orokaiva Childhood

854 An Orokaiva baby, from birth to the time he can walk, is known as *meni orosati*. 483 He lives in a string bag which his mother carries wherever she goes. As the mother jogs along to the gardens, the pliant string bag is pulled taut by the baby's weight, and the characteristic pre-natal position is induced. When she gets to the gardens, she puts the string bag on some leaves on the ground, or hangs it from the branch of a tree, and goes about her digging and weeding. If the baby cries, demonstrating that he is hungry, she will come over to him, take him out of the string bag, and sit 853 down on the ground to feed him. She pushes her nipple into his mouth, continues talking to the other woman, and apparently forgets the baby until he relaxes against her in sleep. Then she puts the baby back into the string bag. If the baby should cry when he is obviously not hungry, the mother gives him no more attention that a single enquiring glance, but if he continues to show signs of pain or sickness she consults one of the old women about him. This is done casually, whenever she happens to meet one of the old women; it is not judged to be urgent. By our standards, the Orokaiva mother seems to take very little interest in her baby. He is a nuisance because he hampers her movements. She fondles him very rarely, and frequently she leaves him for short periods in the care of older siblings.

861 My information concerning the Orokaiva attitude towards teething (which 145 occurs well before weaning) is fragmentary. As soon as their teeth begin to appear, children are given solid foods to chew. The few babies I saw biting their mothers' breasts during nursing were quickly cuffed and scolded. One mother giggled, as the